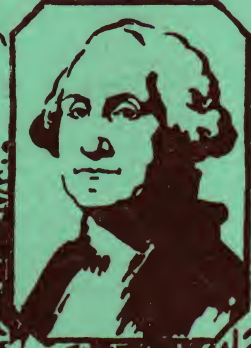


FEBRUARY • 1947

The INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER



Official Magazine

THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS • CHAUFFEURS • WAREHOUSEMEN & HELPERS OF AMERICA

Portal Suits Are Indefensible

IF LABOR should set out to destroy public confidence and invite restrictive legislation, it could find no more effective weapon to use against itself than the portal to portal suit.

President Green has acted wisely in strongly advising all AFL unions to avoid such legal trickery.

The portal to portal pay suit has aroused more public disgust than any other tactic employed by the gentlemen of the left in the ranks of labor.

It is a confession by the labor leaders who use it that they failed to protect the interests of their members when they negotiated the contracts under which they now seek to collect back pay.

Many of these contracts expired years ago. They are dead issues. Imagine the reaction of labor if an employer suddenly claimed that he had paid his men too much under an old contract and demanded that his employees kick back a part of the pay they had received several years ago.

Labor would tell him to go jump in the river, and properly so.

Yet some labor unions have done this very thing. They have filed suits for billions of dollars against employers who faithfully discharged the provisions of contracts they signed with the unions.

The unions allege that they are entitled to back pay because of time spent by the workers preparing for work or getting to the job.

If so, why did not these leaders stipulate such pay in the contracts they signed?

We make no defense of the practice of many employers in forcing workers to spend a half hour or more daily of their own time in getting to the job after they report for work.

Neither can we defend the labor leaders who permitted this to continue year after year with no attempt at correction. They were either outsmarted by the employer or they were indifferent to the welfare of their members.

In either case, it was their hard luck. We can see not the slightest legal or moral justification for suing for damages under a contract approved by the union and fulfilled by the employer.

Such action makes a mockery of contracts and of collective bargaining. It gives employers an excuse to violate contracts and it sets a dangerous precedent that may result in counter suits by employers demanding damages from unions.

Maybe the lawyers who advised the left wing unions were thinking of this. Certainly it will start a flood of litigation that will keep the lawyers busy for years and will cost the unions millions of dollars in court costs and fees to the busy shysters who advised them so badly.

Labor will get along better if it spends less time in court and more time in conference.

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CHAUFFEURS . . . WAREHOUSEMEN AND HELPERS

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Number 3

1948 Election is Not in GOP Bag

Democrats Can Win If Republicans Persecute Labor

By DANIEL J. TOBIN

Office of Publication
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THE Republican party seems to be drunk
with its great success in carrying a major-
ity of the Congress in the last general elec-
tion held in November.

There is no man or party easier to defeat
than the man or party that believes defeat
is impossible. Overconfidence in political
parties has brought about defeat of parties
and candidates on more than one occasion
in the political history of our country.

As an instance, in 1932 the leaders of the
Democratic party, including Jim Farley, at
the national headquarters in the Biltmore
Hotel in New York City, did not believe
that it was possible to elect Franklin Roose-
velt up until the first week of October.

Everybody believed, especially big busi-
ness and the press of the nation, that Hoo-
ver had a walkover because for years pre-
viously the Republican party was in power
and was returned to office by enormous ma-
jorities. Herbert Hoover won over Al Smith
by the largest majority the Republicans had
for many years.

Of the southern states, which were always
Democratic, Al Smith carried only two in
1928.

The Republican leaders were as confident
of winning in September, 1932, as they were
of anything that ever happened to them.
The tide began to turn for Roosevelt around

the first week of October, and the masses of the workers were organized into one solid body who worked together night and day to the end that Franklin Delano Roosevelt carried the nation overwhelmingly.

Apparently the same condition of mind obtains at this time among the Republican leaders, and they are basing their judgment on the fact that they ran away with the election last November.

It is true that the Democrats may not have as strong a candidate in 1948 as they had in 1932, but if the working men and women of this nation, who actually control the elections, band themselves together, they can sweep the country for either party. It was done before. It can be done again.

First, it must be borne in mind by the Republican party that the Democrats have, without any effort, one-third of the vote of the electoral college in the bag before they start. That means they have all the southern states safely on the Democratic side without any effort necessary on the part of the Democratic National Committee or the national Democratic candidates.

Consequently, all the Democrats have to do in 1948 is to concentrate on enough of the states to gain one of the remaining two-thirds of the electoral college, while the Republicans have to win very nearly two-thirds of the electoral college vote in order to be successful. The Republicans are wasting their time and money if they endeavor to carry any of the southern states.

The Republican party can win the election if it doesn't blunder between now and the fall of 1948. From all appearances, the Republicans intend to make one of their usual mistakes because they have that foolish idea that they can win with any kind of candidate or with any kind of platform. Already there are threats of strangling labor by adverse labor legislation. Well, as I have stated more than once, the more you persecute labor the stronger you are going to make labor.

If the Republicans go out on a limb in this session of Congress and are governed by the bitter expressions of such anti-labor congressmen as Hoffman of Michigan and

Smith of Virginia, just as sure as the Republicans are now in the majority, they will be in the minority after the 1948 election.

You cannot bring about peace in industry and better understandings with employers and labor and government by shackling the toilers to their jobs. Education, experience, on both sides, are the remedies for better understandings.

No matter what has been said to the contrary, there is every day a betterment in the mind or minds of both labor and capital. If government steps in to interfere and to enforce the majority power by adverse, cruel legislation, bringing back the old days, then that party in power will be held responsible, and the opponents, no matter who they are, can win the election in 1948.

It should be remembered that there are at least 12½ or perhaps 13½ million organized workers in this country at this time. It is a very conservative estimate to say that each member controls two or three votes.

One's wife, one's father, one's sister or brother or children are usually influenced and follow the trade union member of the family when it comes to voting. This, then, would give the organized workers 25 or 26 million votes in the next general election; but, to be conservative, let us say that they have 20 million votes.

That can turn any election, and I know from experience in handling the labor end of the campaign in four successful elections that the unorganized workers who are in dire distress follow the advice and the leadership of the organized representatives of labor in every election because the unorganized workers, while not benefiting as much because of lack of organization, have benefited and their standards have been raised considerably because of the efforts of the organized groups.

Labor is not owned or controlled by any of the two leading parties. At one time certain districts were Democratic and other districts of workers were Republicans. Today the men and women of organized labor follow the party that they believe will do the most for them by the enactment of just and humane laws.

Labor in England, after the 1926 general strike, which I again repeat was a great mistake, suffered very severely from adverse labor legislation. The Conservatives then controlling the Parliament of England, led by Mr. Asquith, enacted very far-reaching, unjust labor legislation in order, as they said, to prevent a repetition of what happened in the general strike.

We seem to hear the same statements now by the Asquiths and other extreme conservatives in our country. Well, what is the answer in England? There is nothing heard about either the so-called Liberals of Lloyd George or the Conservatives of Asquith, and labor controls the House of Commons by the largest majority any party has for half a century.

Our country is the only country today in which free enterprise, honest investment, decent capital are protected. The labor movement, at least the American Federation of Labor, is strongly in favor of free enterprise where the people are properly safeguarded against the abuses of capital.

Every great country in the world has gone either Communistic or Socialistic. The government of England, the labor party, will tell you that it is opposed to Communism (and it is) but the labor government of England has taken over all the large industries, including the banks and railroads, mines, telegraph and telephone companies, and in reality there isn't any such thing as free enterprise in England for the large corporations.

It is a waste of time to talk about free enterprise in any of the other countries. China is in a condition of revolution where there is no industry or enterprise to amount to anything. We all know the Communist government of Russia (and Russia will be an important competitor in the world markets as time goes on), but there is no free enterprise there.

France is demoralized and will not come back in a hundred years. If it comes back then, unquestionably, the Socialists will be in power and perhaps leading towards Communism.

Germany, at one time one of the great industrial nations of the world, perhaps second only to the United States, is entirely destroyed; and so we could go on down the line—Italy, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Poland—they are all gone, and if any of them are left or if they come back, industry and enterprise will be controlled by governmental institutions if they can ever acquire a free, stabilized government.

So here we are with the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated national unions, numbering over 7,000,000 men and women, fighting for just, free, honest enterprise; fighting for honest business, and because of a partial, temporary victory by the majority party in Congress, labor may be crucified by the next Congress, the Republican majority, which will be aided and assisted by Democrats in the House and in the Senate who should be deprived of the name of Democrat.

I have been opposed to a third political party, and I have fought against it all my life, but if both the majority parties of today follow along the road which they seem to be mapping out just now, well, there is no answer for the working men and women of our country, organized and unorganized, but to do as they have done in England and in other countries—form a workers' party.

The persecution of the workers of England originally created the Labor party of England, and it grew and grew, slowly but surely, until it took over. The persecution of the masses of the workers in Russia by the Romanoffs, of the Czarist mob, brought about the revolution which seized the government of Russia and destroyed the Romanoffs.

It will be said by those blinded with prejudice who fail to see the light that "it can't happen here." Well, it has happened in nearly all the countries of the world and in some of the most advanced countries in the world.

Why can't it happen here? Men and women are human, and education is advancing, and unrest and dissatisfaction are prevailing.

Bitterness of class against class must not

be allowed to increase because this country and its future belong to all the people, not to the few men who control America's wealth, but to all the masses of the American people, and, of course, as everyone knows, 90 per cent of the people belong in the group called the common people, the masses.

I hope and trust that as the representative of a large body of working men and women that the majority party in the Congress won't let the few die-hards run away with their common sense and inject their bitterness and hatreds into the present session of Congress.

I also hope and trust, if they are in doubt as to what to do, they will look over the history of the world for the past 25 years and be guided by what has happened when parties or countries or individuals get so drunk with their power that they believe they are insurmountable.

When a man or a nation believes it is all-powerful, then it is near its downfall or destruction. History repeats itself, and our only guides for the future are our experiences from the past.

I trust this statement may have some influence on the men who make our laws, both in state and nation. No nation can shackle the hands and feet and brains of the working people of this or any other country and expect peace or prosperity. Persecution of the toilers breeds discontent. Discontent breeds hatred. Hatred is the predecessor of revolution. Revolution in many cases is death and destruction to the ruling powers.

I hope I never see anything like revolution in our country. But "it can happen here" if the powers that rule are so blinded with prejudice and hatred that they refuse to see the light or to look back at the pages of history.

Executive Board Protests to Taft

ON JANUARY 16 the International executive board declared its opposition to any law creating a government agency with power to settle jurisdictional disputes.

A telegram expressing the position of the board was dispatched to Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, chairman of the Committee on Labor of the United States Senate.

The telegram follows:

"The general executive board of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters is advising you, as the chairman of the Committee on Labor of the Senate, that it is bitterly opposed to any legislation providing the setting up of a governmental tribunal or commission having the power of settlement of jurisdictional disputes within the family of labor.

"This is a prerogative and right, and labor claims this just right, to settle its own affairs in the future as it has done in the past.

"We regret that jurisdictional disputes such as prevailed in Hollywood within the last year obtained. The Brotherhood of Teamsters maintained their contracts with

their employers in Hollywood and refused to participate in that regrettable jurisdictional dispute.

"The building trades industry in the years past engaged in jurisdictional disputes because of the revolution in the building industry, but it has now almost entirely eliminated jurisdictional misunderstandings.

"If government trespasses on the right of labor to settle its own disputes, undoubtedly, as time goes on, it will encroach further on the liberties of the workers and their organizations.

"Even if a governmental tribunal made a decision, that would not always result in workers accepting such a decision. On the contrary, it might encourage stoppages of work as obtained after the passage of the Smith-Connally law.

"The Teamsters' Union, with almost a million members, requests you to use your influence in the Senate and in the Labor Committee of the Senate to prevent the adoption of any law depriving labor of the right to settle any disputes within the family of labor."

Convention to be Held in August

San Francisco is Chosen by General Executive Board

THE next International convention will be held in San Francisco, beginning August 11, according to the unanimous action of the general executive board in Miami last

month. This decision and other details of this important action are contained in the resolution adopted by the board, which follows:

WHEREAS, due to the war emergency and resulting government regulations it has not been possible to hold the International convention as provided for by the International constitution, and

WHEREAS, therefore, six and one-half years have already elapsed since the holding of the last convention, and

WHEREAS, the earliest possible date obtainable for the holding of the convention is August, 1947, and

WHEREAS, due to further conditions arising out of the war and postwar emergencies, hotel and travel accommodations are difficult and unobtainable in most areas of the country to accommodate and handle a convention of the magnitude and size of the Teamsters' International due to our great growth, as our membership is nearing the million mark, and

WHEREAS, the convention city named by the last convention cannot furnish us hotel accommodations, and

WHEREAS, no city in the country has been able to furnish accommodations to permit the holding of a September convention, and

WHEREAS, exhaustive search and investigation disclosed that only the city of San Francisco offered satisfactory and sufficient arrangements for the holding of our convention, if the same were to be held during the month of August, 1947,

Now, THEREFORE, the general executive board unanimously resolves that the next convention be held in San Francisco, California, commencing the second Monday in August, 1947.

In order to make it possible to arrange for the holding of such convention, in accordance with the constitutional intent in respect to convention call, election of delegates and credentials,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that all delegates to the International convention shall be elected at the first regular meeting in May, 1947, or as soon thereafter as possible, during the month of May.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the recording secretary of each local union shall immediately and on or before June 1, 1947, after the election of delegates, forward their names to the general secretary-treasurer, who shall publish a list of delegates.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that all credentials must be in the general office 45 days prior to the opening of the convention.


BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the general president shall, on or before August 1, 1947, appoint from the delegates-elect a committee of five, no two from any one state or province, to act as a committee on credentials.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that convention representation shall be based on all per capita tax payments for the period commencing July 1, 1940, and ending March 31, 1947, which must be in the International office on or before April 10, 1947.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that in all other respects, except as herein provided, matters pertaining to the convention shall be as prescribed by the International constitution.

If inflation comes to America, economic freedom as we know it—and we are alone in all the world in enjoying it—will be gone. If inflation comes to America, the resulting misery and need will equal that in Europe and Asia today.

—Journeyman Plumbers' and Steam Fitters' Journal.



LABOR NEWS NOTES OF THE MONTH

From the Federated Press

WASHINGTON—An inquiry to determine whether Secretary of Commerce W. Averell Harriman is working monopoly's side of the street in the government's antitrust suit against western and southern railroads was demanded January 10 by President James G. Patton of the National Farmers' Union. Patton charged that Harriman was a member of at least two directors' committees which are defendants in the federal suit filed in Nebraska charging that western railroads have violated the antitrust laws in fixing rates and standards of service.

JEFFERSON CITY, MO.—Fines totaling \$2,090,000 were levied against 122 of the nation's largest stock fire insurance companies December 30 when the Missouri supreme court found the firms guilty of seeking a fraudulent settlement in a case involving the late Kansas City political boss, Tom Pendergast.

RICHMOND, VA.—The Virginia State Corporation Commission has delayed hearing on a complaint against the United Mine Workers until February 26. The union is accused of violating the state's blue sky law in "selling union memberships."

WASHINGTON—AFL Vice President Matthew Woll, chairman of the International Labor Relations Department, has protested to British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin against a reported decision of the World Federation of Trade Unions favoring the use of forced labor in the Ruhr coal mines.

CHICAGO—The Cudahy Packing Co., one of meat packing's Big Four, sold 12 per cent less meat in 1946 than the year before, but made \$7 million more in profits, the company's annual profit report showed.

FORT EDWARD, N. Y.—President John P. Burke of the International Brotherhood of Pulp Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers (AFL) will advocate a merger with the International Brotherhood of Paper Makers (AFL) at his union's convention in Milwaukee next September.

WASHINGTON—AFL President William Green January 6 endorsed the objectives outlined by President Truman in his state of the union message to Congress designed to promote "greater harmony between management and labor."

HARRISBURG, PA.—Pennsylvania's little Wagner act received a body blow January 9 from the state labor relations board, which reversed an earlier decision and added new antiunion trimmings to its policy of "free speech" for employers.

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.—Bartenders are going to "school" here not only to improve their mixing skill but to advise customers on how to drink without suffering hangovers. The instruction, one of the first of its kind in the nation, is sponsored by Waiters' & Bartenders' Local No. 500 (AFL) and a national distillery concern, with the latter providing the "professors."

WASHINGTON—Outright repeal of the Wagner labor relations act and creation of a new National Labor Mediation Board with strict prohibition of the closed shop is called for in a bill offered January 10 by Congressman Clare Hoffman of Michigan.

NEW ORLEANS—Blazing a trail for the entire nation, the housewives of New Orleans are on the march against inflation, and the prices of bacon and other foods are tumbling before their advance. Banded together in United Women to Combat Inflation, they represent the combined strength of 58 local women's organizations with a total membership of 108,000.

NEW YORK—Straight from the horse's mouth comes proof that the newsprint shortage, now menacing thousands of small publications, is due to the greed of the big newspaper chains. Addressing the National Publishers' Association here, President R. M. Fowler of the Canadian Pulp and Paper Association said he found talk of shortages of paper and pulp in the U. S. "peculiar." Canada, which supplies about 83 per cent of the U. S. newsprint supply, is sending the U. S. 47 per cent more newsprint and 100 per cent more pulp than before the war, he said. From Executive Secretary E. W. Tinker of the American Paper and Pulp Association came another item: In 1946, he said, there was available 22,381,000 tons, an increase of 2,700,000 tons over the previous year.

WASHINGTON—Meeting in its 13th annual convention here, the National Farm Labor Union (AFL) decided on a program of organization to bring a higher money income and greater security to three million workers on farms, ranches and plantations.

NEW YORK—The Seafarers' International Union (AFL) polled 1,256 votes to 813 for the National Maritime Union (CIO) and 69 for no union among unlicensed personnel of the Isthmian Steamship Lines, John Penello, NLRB field examiner, announced here.

WASHINGTON—Observers here do not expect a decision by the U. S. supreme court on the United Mine Workers-John L. Lewis contempt case until the end of February.

CHICAGO—Armour & Co., one of the four biggest meat packing corporations, revealed here January 6 the fantastic fact that their profits in the fiscal year ending November 2 zoomed more than 300 per cent over the previous year to reach a total of \$30,291,128. The year before they cleared a mere \$9,172,538.

WASHINGTON—Recognizing the importance of a smoothly functioning NLRB to keeping industrial peace, President Truman in his budget message January 10 recommended an increase in the NLRB appropriation for the fiscal year 1948 of \$3.5 million.

WASHINGTON—A bill to authorize railroads to enter into collusive rate fixing agreements without violating the antitrust laws was introduced in the House January 3 by Congressman Alfred Bulwinkle of North Carolina. An identical measure by Bulwinkle passed the House in the 79th Congress only to die in the face of determined labor opposition when it reached the Senate.

RICHMOND, VA.—By a thumping 36 to 2 vote, the Virginia state senate January 16 approved Governor William Tuck's bill forbidding closed shop contracts within the commonwealth. It was sent to the executive mansion for Tuck's signature.

WASHINGTON—As portal to portal suits throughout the country neared the \$5 billion mark January 13, President John P. Frey of the AFL Metal Trades Department criticized retroactive claims as violating the faith of employers in collective bargaining agreements.

DETROIT—Gross profits of two billion dollars for the auto manufacturers are being privately and gloatingly talked about in Detroit circles for 1947 on an estimated six million car and truck output.

SAN FRANCISCO—The Rexall Drug Co. filed a \$70,000 damage suit in superior court here January 16 against the Pharmacists' Union (AFL) for picketing and closing its warehouses. An unusual feature of the suit is the company's demand for double damages if the court rules the picketing was in violation of California's antitrust laws.

NEW YORK—U. S. Ambassador to Argentina George S. Messersmith assured a select group of business men and academic leaders in a closed meeting here January 13 that Argentine President Juan Peron "will be with us early in the next war," Federated Press learned exclusively.

DEARBORN, MICH.—Slashes of \$15 to \$50 in Ford cars, but not in Lincolns or Mercuries, still leaves Ford prices 51 per cent above the 1941 levels, the United Auto Workers (CIO) commented after President Henry Ford II of the Ford Motor Co. announced the reductions. The union also remarked that the cut averages hardly more than 1 per cent of the price.

WASHINGTON—Labor's side of the case against pending antiunion measures in the Senate will be aired publicly during the week of February 18, Chairman Robert A. Taft of the Senate labor committee said January 20.

Open Shop Means Open Warfare

Abolition of Union Shop Would Create National Crisis

SOME senators and congressmen with more prejudice than perception believe they have the answer to "the labor problem."

It is to outlaw the closed shop. By such an act they believe there will be no more strikes and that labor and management will lie down side by side and purr happily ever after.

For the benefit of these members of Congress, and state legislators who may listen to them, we must point out that the way to industrial peace does not lie in the abolition of the union shop, or the closed shop, as it is frequently called.

On the contrary, bitter conflict and decreased production are what such legislation would bring. It would precipitate a more serious crisis than any the nation now faces, or would otherwise face.

Any man qualified to sit in Congress should understand that.

It is, of course, possible for Congress to make the union shop illegal. It can deprive an employer of the right to hire union men exclusively.

But Congress cannot deprive any individual of the right to work for whoever he pleases. It cannot tell him he must work for an employer who refuses to recognize a union.

Therefore, any act of Congress prohibiting the closed shop would not force men to work under nonunion conditions. It would give them the choice of working under such conditions or not working at all.

The result would be that millions would not work. They would refuse to work alongside nonunion men.

This would hit the national economy with terrific impact. It would reduce production to a fraction of its present figure and the day of full production on which economists base their hopes of world recovery would fade out like the rosy colors of the setting sun.

From long and dismal experience, union men have found that they cannot work in

an open shop and maintain their standards of pay and their working conditions.

They have found that in plants where the employer is free to hire both union and nonunion men, flagrant partiality is shown the nonunion man. The employer showers favors on the nonunion workers, giving them the choicest jobs and promotions and missing no opportunity to show that it is profitable for a man not to belong to a union.

The intention is obviously to induce all men to sever their union affiliations in order to share in the prosperity enjoyed by the nonunion workers.

Once the union is destroyed, the employer ceases his benevolent interest. Conditions begin to deteriorate and the opportunities for advancement to vanish. With no threat of unionism before him, the employer cracks down to get more out of his labor at less cost.

This is an old story for union men. That is why they refuse to work with nonunion men. They know that in doing so they are only contributing to their own misfortune.

Proponents of legislation to eliminate the union shop say they are inspired by a desire to protect the democratic rights of the individual. They say he should be permitted to work without joining a union.

To "protect" the right of the individual not to join a union, the foes of the closed shop would destroy the right of the majority to join and to protect themselves by writing a contract with their employer to guarantee that they shall work in a union shop under union conditions.

In spite of what anybody says, it is impossible to maintain union conditions in a nonunion shop.

The purpose of a nonunion shop is to maintain nonunion conditions, just as the purpose of the union shop is to maintain union conditions.

There is nothing undemocratic about the union shop and there is nothing democratic about the nonunion, or open, shop.

The open shop exists not to protect the democratic rights of individuals but to reduce the wages of those individuals. In other words, it is a device by which the employer makes more money and the employees less money.

Most open shops are not open shops at all. They are closed shops—closed against union men.

Democracy is threatened by the open shop, not by the closed shop. Therefore, any legislator who claims he is interested in preserving democracy should be for the union shop. If he says he wants to protect democracy by destroying the union shop, he is just trying to kid somebody.

If Congress outlaws the closed shop, some unions will be destroyed and others will be crippled. But the principle of unionism which lives in the hearts of union men will be neither destroyed nor crippled.

Such men will fight with the same determination for their self-preservation as they did in bygone years when there was no humane legislation on the statute books and when most laws were given antiunion interpretation by hostile courts.

Men who think unionism can be destroyed by the enactment of a law forget that unionism grew in the face of persecution and harsh laws enacted by unfriendly men.

Some unions will unquestionably perish if the closed shop is banned. They will be

unions which were organized under the protecting arms of a friendly national administration.

That does not mean that the men who belonged to these unions will remain unorganized. They will not. As their wages go down and their hours lengthen, they will learn what unionism meant to them. They will join other unions which existed long before President Roosevelt came along to hand the weaklings a crutch.

Most of the strong old craft unions of the American Federation of Labor will survive any legislative attack that could be made on them. Of course they might lose thousands of members who joined during the last few years without understanding the history or the purposes of the trade union movement.

But the backbone of these unions will not be broken. In fact the unions may be strengthened by the loss of some of the fat that accumulated on them during the easy years.

They will learn how to fight again and how to win against terrific odds. The spirit of the pioneers will be rekindled.

If Congress sincerely desires to improve industrial relations, it will not pass a law destroying the union shop. If it does pass such a law, it will have succeeded only in destroying industrial harmony.

The unions will survive, no matter what anyone may try to do to them.

Oppression Turns People to Radical Doctrines

Congress is now in session and while the majority of the members will be representatives of the Republican party and in control until the voters of the United States decide to again switch, Congress still is and will continue to be the Congress of the United States and not of any particular group or party, and as such, will represent all the people and not a few.

The problems confronting Congress are many and complex and should be approached with great care and after sober,

thoughtful consideration and conferences. Errors made by hasty and ill-considered judgment will tend to foster and promote strife and the greater infiltration of doctrines which develop when hatreds are engendered and privileges denied citizens. When least expected they may break out in such fury that all semblance of order and democracy will be wiped out.

It can happen in the U. S. A. just as it has happened elsewhere and is happening now.

—*Mobile Labor Journal*.

We have asked for legislation to provide national health insurance as an essential pillar of national security.—*The Bridgemen's Magazine*.

Tobin Questions Strike Truce

Cites Difficulty of Obtaining Impartial Tribunal

By DANIEL J. TOBIN

THERE is a great deal of talk around about establishing a labor-industry truce for a period of one year. It was started in Washington, and it has been taken up by all the newspapers and magazines.

In the national headquarters we have been contacted by newspaper writers and by magazine publishers for our opinion on that question.

We have not given any opinion to the press on this matter up to this time. Our opinion is this: If there could be a just and reasonable court made up of honest, fearless, conscientious men that would help to adjust differences between employers and their employees, we might give serious consideration to the proposition, but we doubt if we can get that kind of men to work unselfishly and intelligently.

In the past, arbitration boards have been influenced by their environments and training, and labor has had the worst of it. Also, the appointments are made by political bosses and masters who recommend to the President or to whomsoever has the appointing power that certain individuals be appointed.

First, the heat comes from back home, where the employers get in contact with the leaders of the party in power in their home districts. There are many ways of doing things, and we know what happens.

Then the boys back home who helped to elect the men down in Washington bring their influence to bear on the heads of the majority party in Washington. They usually get what they want. Consequently, we have not had up to now a fair and impartial board in whom the workers would have implicit confidence. That's why labor is not anxious for that kind of board. That's why labor—the men and women who work—will not consent to a so-called impartial board which would be given the power to stop strikes.

Don't misunderstand this writer. We have

repeatedly said that there is nothing worse for industry or labor than strikes, but it has been impossible to stop strikes because of the attitude of the employers in the past in many industries. Labor never yet has won a victory without fighting for it and without many sacrifices to make slight progress.

Someone will say, "Well, what about the National War Labor Board?" We went along with that National War Labor Board. We sat in at its creation as a member of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor.

We kept our promise to observe its decisions as much as we could, and those promises were faithfully observed in 99 per cent of our troubles. But our country was at war; the world was on fire.

We were fighting not only for wages and working conditions during the war, but were fighting for the preservation of our freedom, for the principles of justice as we understand them in our country.

We would agree to again establish something similar to the National War Labor Board if our country was again at war. But we are opposed to continuing in time of peace the restrictions which were necessary to win the war.

We should get back to normal, and the normal method of doing business is for employers and employees to discuss and try to reach an agreement on any questions arising in the industry. If they cannot reach an agreement, then both sides can suggest a further agreement to arbitrate the differences. Mutual arbitration has always brought about better results than compulsory arbitration.

Someone may point to the railway wage board of conciliation and arbitration. Well, that method of settling labor disputes between railroad workers and railroad corporations was an almost complete failure during the war and even before the war, because we had as much unrest in the railroad indus-

try as in any other part of our American industrial life.

The trouble with the so-called truce which has been suggested by individuals who are trying to come into the limelight and get some publicity for themselves is this: we found during the war that employers stalled and stalled in many of our conferences in order to get to the War Labor Board with their case, believing they could do better, and in many instances they did.

The main thing that disgusted the men of labor was the delay and confusion and the endless red tape that surrounded the War Labor Board. In many instances when they made decisions, they were unable to enforce their decisions, especially as they applied to business.

Our people must remember the Montgomery Ward decision where the heads of that corporation refused absolutely and positively to obey the decisions of the War Labor Board.

Remember also that the strike of middle western Teamsters was caused because large employers absolutely refused to carry out the decisions of the War Labor Board. The government had to take over some trucking concerns, and the government did not carry out some of those decisions insofar as our back pay and other awards made by the War Labor Board were concerned.

But we had to accept such injustices because the safety of our country was at stake, and the blood of thousands of our members and millions of young Americans was being offered up to protect our form of government and even civilization itself.

Consequently, it is very difficult for me to say that I favor a period of peace, which would surrender the right of men to strike, when there has been no just peace under decisions of an arbitration board. I may change my mind if it can be proven to me that justice can prevail and that a board worthy of implicit confidence could be created. It is not an easy job for any man to fill a position on such a board.

The individuals on such a board would have to have courage, honesty and understanding of the rights of both parties involved in order to do justice to both sides.

The first question we ask ourselves at present is: "Do we know where we are going, especially in the cost of living?"

If the purchasing power of the dollar is going to continue downward, how are men and women going to live? You give them a handful of dollars that look big, but they have no real value.

We have endeavored and have somewhat succeeded in preventing wild inflation, but no one can claim that we are without inflation insofar as the American working man's dollar is concerned.

If there was some way in which business could stabilize our dollar, even now in its weakened condition, then we may be able to reach some understanding about a peace treaty between capital and labor, based upon the conditions referred to above—the appointment of a commission in which the workers and the business men of the nation would have confidence.

Some people may ask me "What about the Supreme Court of the United States? Have you confidence in those men?"

My answer is, yes. Now I have, but there were many, many years in which I had no confidence in the Supreme Court when it came to a question of deciding matters involving the lives and welfare of the American toilers.

That was when corporations influenced the heads of our government, who were also financed and employed by corporations to appoint their stooges, who were their attorneys, as members of the Supreme Court.

And I have not forgotten how we would spend years trying to get some constructive labor legislation through Congress in behalf of the toilers only to see it declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

Yes, I have confidence in a majority of the Supreme Court of today because they are men who understand modern life and whose backgrounds are such that they do not despise the workers.

Many of the present judges came from the families of the workers, but I remember how I lived under a different age than we have today, and I had, as one labor man, many disappointing experiences with the

decisions of the Supreme Court. It is one of the most difficult problems for any President to appoint a commission of unprejudiced individuals to act as a final arbitration bureau to make decisions that will be just to labor and to business.

I repeat, if such a commission could be created, I will give further consideration to

this so-called "truce" between capital and labor suggested by so many business men and friends of business men in recent weeks.

But I fail to see where any real representatives of labor are recommending a truce which means no strikes and compulsory arbitration.

When the Greeks bear gifts, beware!

School Teachers are Disappearing

Low Pay is Destroying Standard of Public Education

By JOSEPH F. LANDIS

President, American Federation of Teachers, in the American Federationist

ALL is not well with American public education. Since Pearl Harbor 500,000 teachers have left the profession, 10,000 classrooms have been closed, 280,000 emergency certificates have been issued to teachers unable to meet the minimum certification requirements of the states in which they serve, and teacher training institutions have been almost denuded of trainees for the teaching profession.

In the nation this year one of each eight teachers is inadequately trained, ill-prepared and incompetent to serve the educational needs of American youth.

What do these facts mean? They mean that year after year millions of American youth—not an abstract youth, but perchance your child or mine—will be doomed to grow up in complete ignorance, denied all educational opportunities, or be granted only a smattering of training under incompetent, ill-trained teachers.

They mean that each year a lost generation of American youth will be consigned to darkness rather than light. They mean that this lost generation will become the tools of the crackpots of the future who would destroy democracy itself.

Denied their educational birthright, bitter against democracy for its failure to be truly democratic, these neglected and forgotten youth will turn to Fascist, Communist, Nazi or other nondemocratic ideologies which seemingly offer hope for a more satisfactory life.

For her own preservation, for the preser-

vation of democracy itself, America must afford all her youth adequate educational opportunities. And I do mean *all*. Small wonder indeed that former Governor Edison of New Jersey, in contemplation of the data just presented, said:

"Nothing Japan had to offer was half as dangerous to America as are these facts."

Consider for the moment the status of American youth. The last census indicated that only one of three children graduated from high school. All surveys agree that millions drop out of school because of economic stress.

Rural youth and youth in the less wealthy states receive grossly inadequate education. Certain minority groups are discriminated against to the detriment of their intellectual growth and the welfare of the nation.

Only when the full benefit of education is extended to and made possible for all our youth will the needs of our youth be met.

In "The Myth of Educational Opportunity," Dr. Norton of Teachers College, Columbia University, indicates that only 17 per cent of American youth receive first-rate education, 83 per cent average to poor and 25 per cent grossly inadequate education.

Is it not appalling to contemplate that 83 per cent of American youth receive average-to-poor education? Surely American youth deserves better than that.

Teacher shortage is the most pressing problem now imperiling American youth. Authorities agree that there is no foreseeable relief within the next ten years.

That the problem rapidly will become worse is evidenced by the fact that America this year had its highest birth and marriage rates, presaging an increased pupil load upon already overcrowded and undermanned schools in exactly six years.

How then can we relieve teacher shortage and provide competent teachers to our youth?

Only by paying salaries commensurate with the cost of adequate preparation and the great social service rendered to the community by our teachers.

Current teachers' salaries are *grossly inadequate*. In 1946 the national average salary was \$1,800. This is not a minimum but an average; half the teachers of the land received less than \$1,800 per year, less than \$35 per week.

A recent article in a national magazine disclosed that in Salt Lake City a teacher, after 16 years of faithful service, can rise to the munificent salary of \$2,724. The same article brought out that the dog catcher in the same city starts at \$10,000.

The American Federation of Teachers is not pleading selfishly when it urges better pay for teachers. Our organization pleads for all the youth of America and their needs.

Only with adequately trained teachers in the classrooms can these needs be met. Attractive, adequate salaries alone can assure the presence of such teachers in the classrooms.

The American Federation of Teachers and the American Federation of Labor insist that the nation must bring back to the profession able, thoroughly trained teachers now employed more remuneratively elsewhere, must retain the competent teachers now in the schools and must attract to the profession competent replacements and additions.

What must be done to establish equal educational opportunity in America? We must increase allocation for education at three levels, local, state and national.

School districts throughout America must increase local support for local school improvement. Our states can well afford the broadening of educational opportunities

within their borders to do better by their boys and girls.

But state and local communities can no longer bear the full cost of public education if equal chance is to be given to all American youth. All educational organizations now agree that federal aid to education is imperative.

The AFL insists that federal aid must assure no discrimination against minority groups, nationwide elimination of substandard conditions, supplementation of local and state educational expenditures (not substitution therefor), definite earmarking of a substantial portion of federal funds for elevating salaries of public school teachers, restriction of federal funds for instruction to public schools, and provision of services and scholarships to needy children and youth regardless of creed, color or type of school attended.

Until the final day of the last session of Congress no federal aid bill ever was introduced which would adequately meet the educational needs of American youth.

On that day Senators Murray, Morse and Pepper introduced a bill under which grants could be made for educational programs and services, for scholarships and fellowships, for construction of buildings, for camping programs and research.

This bill meets the principles of federal aid approved by the American Federation of Teachers and its parent body, the AFL.

The bill would fix public school teachers' salaries at a minimum of \$1,800 within three years and at \$2,000 within eight years. Equalization of opportunity between rural and city areas, a school year of 180 days for children aged six to 16 and employment of teachers on a merit basis would be required.

Payments for teachers' salaries would be restricted to the public schools. Noninstructional services and scholarships would be provided for all needy youth.

This bill, to be reintroduced early in the present session of Congress, offers the first adequate solution to the inadequacies of American education and offers the first hope of making equal educational opportunities a fact.

While not as yet officially approved in language either by the AFT or the AFL, the bill accords with established principles advocated by both organizations.

When amended to include such guarantees as definite allocations for increasing teachers' salaries, it will represent the finest approach yet suggested for federal aid.

The AFL is deeply interested in the state of education. Organized labor created our public school system, has been its staunchest defender and insists that all youth shall be given adequate educational opportunity.

Envisage a neglected American youth holding out his hands, begging just for the chance to learn.

Put yourself in the place of that youth

and see hope for light and learning disappear forever because of the nation's failure to enact sound federal aid legislation.

Can one fail any such youth? *Dare* one fail millions of such youth? The answer of organized labor is an emphatic "No!"

Adequate salaries alone can assure that competent teachers will remain in the profession, that competent additions will enlist therein and that depletion of the teaching ranks will cease. The vanishing American, the teacher, must be adequately paid lest adequate education for our children vanish as well.

We dare not fail our youth. For their sake, for the sake of America, we must elevate teachers' salaries *now*.

AFL Membership Hits New Peak

THE total paid membership of the affiliated national and international organizations and the directly chartered trade and federal labor unions of the AFL on September 1, 1946, was 7,123,943.

This is based on the actual per capita tax received at the AFL office in Washington from affiliated unions, according to the executive council report. The following is the yearly membership in the past 50 years:

Year	Membership	Year	Membership	Year	Membership
1897.....	264,825	1914.....	2,020,671	1931.....	2,889,550
1898.....	278,016	1915.....	1,946,347	1932.....	2,532,261
1899.....	349,422	1916.....	2,072,702	1933.....	2,126,796
1900.....	548,321	1917.....	2,371,434	1934.....	2,608,011
1901.....	787,537	1918.....	2,726,478	1935.....	3,045,347
1902.....	1,024,399	1919.....	3,260,068	1936.....	3,422,398
1903.....	1,465,800	1920.....	4,078,740	1937.....	2,860,933
1904.....	1,676,200	1921.....	3,906,528	1938.....	3,623,087
1905.....	1,494,300	1922.....	3,195,635	1939.....	4,006,354
1906.....	1,454,200	1923.....	2,926,468	1940.....	4,247,443
1907.....	1,538,970	1924.....	2,865,799	1941.....	4,569,056
1908.....	1,586,885	1925.....	2,877,297	1942.....	5,482,581
1909.....	1,482,872	1926.....	2,803,966	1943.....	6,564,141
1910.....	1,562,112	1927.....	2,812,526	1944.....	6,806,913
1911.....	1,761,835	1928.....	2,896,063	1945.....	6,931,221
1912.....	1,770,145	1929.....	2,933,545	1946.....	7,151,808
1913.....	1,996,004	1930.....	2,961,096		

The insidious propaganda against organized labor heretofore prevailing has paid off in the eyes of antiunion industrialists to the point where it is thought a direct fight against labor will have public support. More economic conflict is in sight because of employer resistance to fair wages and hours of work.

—The Typographical Journal.

Oregon Emphasizes Safe Driving

Courtesy on Highway Makes Friends for Teamsters' Union

From the Oregon Teamster

The following article from the alert and newsy publication of Joint Council No. 37 was written particularly for Oregon Teamsters but it applies equally well to other states and for that reason is being reproduced as timely advice to all commercial drivers. Courteous drivers make friends for their union and for organized labor as a whole. Safe drivers live longer. The courteous driver is usually a safe driver.

"OPERATION: SAFETY" will be the rallying cry for the Teamster Brotherhood—the men who are the professional drivers—in the state of Oregon during the year of 1947.

Emphasizing that safe driving was never so important in the history of the trucking industry, Jack Schlaht, secretary of General Teamster Local No. 162, pleaded with all drivers to make every effort to maintain safe operation of vehicles at all times.

"This year," he declared, "the professional truck driver—the man whose skill and ability keeps the life blood of commerce flowing—is going to be in the public eye as never before.

"It will be up to the professional driver to set the pace and to make the example for the driving public to shoot at.

"For one thing, the flow of industrial traffic on the highways of the state will certainly not decrease in 1947. The driving public in the state will be out on the roads in greater numbers than ever before as new cars become available.

"But most important of all, it is almost certain that the state of Oregon is going to enjoy its biggest tourist season in history. Thousands of drivers from all parts of the nation will be traveling Oregon's roads to view the natural advantages which this state offers.

"It is of paramount importance that we, as professional drivers, show every possible courtesy to these visitors within our borders so that their impression of Oregon will be a favorable one.

"The state is gaining a nationwide reputation as one which offers unparalleled in-

dustrial and natural advantages. Many of our visitors will be coming here with a view to establishing business and industry in Oregon. New business will mean new jobs for the professional drivers.

"It's not too far fetched for every driver to keep in mind that a discourteous act on the road to an out-of-state driver might be the very thing to cause a potential employer to change his mind about locating in our state.

"The importance of continued safe driving can be brought even closer to home, however, when we consider the effect which public complaints may have on the state legislature.

"Every gripe by a private driver against a professional driver will be just that much more ammunition for Oregon lawmakers to use in the drafting of legislation restricting the operation of the truck industry.

"And every act of courtesy we can perform will give the professional driver another friend.

"Out on the road, the professional driver is in the limelight every day. He carries within him not only the responsibility for the equipment and the cargo he is hauling, but he must always be conscious that—in the minds of the driving public—he represents the company he works for and represents the Teamster Brotherhood.

"Thoughtless or careless acts on his part will react unfavorably against his employer, against all truck operators and against the union and his brother members.

"He not only has a job of safe driving to do. He must also do a constant job of public

relations, building up good will in the mind of the public in favor of the skilled driver.

"It's no small job and it's no small responsibility. And the big thing to remember is that once the public realizes how important the job of the professional driver is to the nation's economy the sooner we will be

able to earn the respect and cooperation of all.

"So, during 1947, let's try to maintain our good driving record. Let's make 'Operation: Safety' our byword. It will mean more jobs, more job security and better conditions for all."

CIO is Assailed for Portal Suits

Executive Board Challenges Validity of Claims

THE following resolution, sharply attacking the portal to portal law suits initiated by the CIO, was passed by the general executive board meeting in Miami on January 16:

"The International Brotherhood of Teamsters will not make any claim whatsoever for portal to portal pay. We sign a contract governing wages and hours and we shall protect and enforce and carry out those contracts during their existence, no matter what it costs.

"We believe that the only organization that is entitled to portal to portal pay is the Mine Workers. Those men in many instances have to walk a mile from the time they enter the mouth of the mine until they reach their positions as miners.

"But the Miners were sustained in their claim by the highest courts of the land. Those demands for portal to portal pay now made by CIO unions may be instituted for the purpose of offsetting the organized campaigns against organized labor by the enemies of labor.

"Even if this be the cause of this organized claim by the CIO organizations, we are of the opinion that it is not morally justified because it was not agreed to in the contracts signed by these unions of the CIO and their employers.

"We further believe that instead of causing anxiety and fear from a bargaining standpoint to the employers, it has a tendency to place numerous employers in a state of uncertainty which has a substantial depressive effect on industry.

"If, on the other hand, the CIO has instituted those proceedings or demands for bil-

lions of dollars as a result of some decision of the courts, the injury done by causing great uncertainty to employers and industry is greater, in our opinion, than any advantage obtained for publicity or for bargaining purposes by the CIO and if the courts should decide in favor of the claims of the CIO for portal to portal pay, it would be in violation of present signed contracts.

"There is no doubt in our minds but that the legislative branches of the government will immediately enact legislation disestablishing the right to claim portal to portal pay in violation of signed contracts.

"If CIO unions or other unions believe they are entitled to pay for time after they enter into the property of the employer, they should, in accordance with established customs, proceed to convince the employers of their claims for such consideration involving portal to portal pay in the new contracts which will be under discussion in the immediate future and endeavor to convince the employers of the justice of their claims; but until such agreements are entered into by understanding or by arbitration, it is unfair to industry and to organized labor to produce the present condition of uncertainty in employment and industry.

"The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, with its large membership of nearly one million members having more than 12,000 signed contracts, will not permit its unions to violate those contracts by making any demand for anything not contained in the contract, during the life of the contract, and which might be encouraged by what we believe is agitation and propaganda by the CIO organizations."

Congress Moves Cautiously

IN SPITE of all the wild proposals that flew like splinters from the political platforms of candidates during the recent campaign, it appears that the new Congress is not basically anti-labor.

It may, however, enact some damaging legislation because too many of its members are not informed of the consequences of the laws they intend to support.

To correct certain evils, Congress may enact laws that will produce new and greater evils. The congressional leaders with experience seem to be aware of that. They also appear to be proceeding cautiously and analyzing the effects of the many legislative suggestions made by new members.

As long as Congress moves in that manner, labor does not need to fear a vicious or vengeful motive in the legislation, even though many of the proposed laws are inspired secretly by influences whose only aim is to wreck organized labor and reduce wages.

But labor does have reason to fear unwise laws that may be enacted by men who believe they are doing something for the good of the country and for the good of labor.

The weapon with which to fight such legislation is not recrimination but reason. Men who are supporting legislation which is injurious to labor must be shown why such legislation is injurious and why it will not accomplish what its advocates hope.

With few exceptions, congressmen and senators will listen to any representative of labor who can help them decide a question of paramount public importance.

In the past, some labor leaders have been too ready to condemn any legislator who honestly differs with them. Sometimes proven friends of labor have been attacked and defeated merely because they disagreed with certain labor leaders on one or two occasions.

Leaders of this type are a liability to labor. They demand subservience and expect a legislator to be their rubber stamp.

Labor should not want anybody's rubber stamps in Congress or in the state legislatures; not even its own. A man who takes orders from anybody does not belong in any legislative body in a democracy. He is a menace, no matter what master he serves. And such men change masters whenever it profits them.

As long as Congress is composed of fair and reasonable men, labor need have no fear of persecution.

The challenge labor faces today is to present its case logically and honestly to Congress. The future of the country rests on the welfare of labor. Labor's cause is just. Most legislators realize that, despite their aversion to certain labor leaders.

If labor makes a sincere effort to understand the employers' point of view, it will have less difficulty in persuading employers to understand labor's point of view.

If labor also will understand the public viewpoint as represented by the lawmakers, we are confident that the new Congress will show the sympathy for labor that exists in the minds of most Americans.

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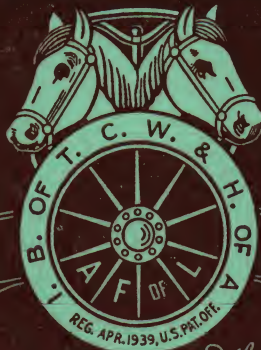
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